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THE EVENING SUN. Per Year. 6.00
THE EVENING SUN(Foreign), Per Mo. 1.50

All checks, money orders, &c., to be

Published daily, including Sunday, by the Sun Printing and Publishing Association, 130 Nassau Bi., Borough of Manhattan, N. Y. President, Frank A. Munsey, 130 Nassau St.; Vice-President, Ervin Wardman; Secretary, R. H. Titherington; Treas., Win. T. Dewart, all of 150 Nassau Street.

London office, 40-43 First street.
Paris office, 6 Rue de la Michodiere, off
Rue du Quatre Septembre.
Washington office, Munsey Building.
Brooklyn office, Room 202, Eagle Building, 303 Washington street.

our friends who favor us with manu-s and lingtrations for publication wish we rejected articles returned they must cases send stamps for that purpose. TELEPHONE, BEEKMAN 2200.

with such violence as to compel a con- taining the country permanently. siderable abatement of infantry activity on their part at a moment when been circulated throughout the world, their plan called for its intensification, and having been allowed to take root and continuance. Thus the initial in such minds as are still hospitable movement was shattered, and a read- to the suggestions of Prussian statejustment of the enemy's forces was craft, was obviously intended to rerendered necessary which may con- flect on the Imperial German Governsiderably affect his general plan.

vidual qualities, and a comprehension as follows: of military necessities that is highly gratifying to us, and must be to their instructors and their comrades in arms. At no time has there been question of the bravery or devotedness of our men : the problem for our military commanders to solve has involved the education of privates, nonexpediting the methods and practices of modern warfare. The units on whom the brunt of the fighting fell this week appear to have been principally, if not exclusively, from the Regular Army and the Marine Corps. These include our best trained of long experience. Yet it must be remembered that they are not different from the men of the National Guard division or the men of the National Army. Save for the prepa training indeed all the regula

The men have had in their period of information. preparation the best instructors that As Von Hertling's address foll the matter of color only. could be obtained. The experiences lowed the last appearance of Vox trenches transform the rookie into a enced by the late Foreign Secretary's Bijun dissented as follows: veteran. The sterling qualities of words to the Reichstag, it is inter-American young manhood include an esting to recall what that functionary amazing adaptability, a virtue of su- said of good faith on this historic preme importance in the army.

We have never been shaken in our power in blood, and the message must honesty and chivalry." be read by the Germans who have affected to despise them.

Nations.

Viscount Gary's latest utterance on a league of nations, which we print in Von KUHLMANN has been ignomifull on this page to-day, represents | niously expelled from office? the matered thought of a student of international affairs whose whole course in the incidents which culmiworld to-day marked him as a man

overwhelming military force, which thing decent." was supplemented by a campaign of In 1914, at the very beginning of and manifest purpose is to prevent dis-

and the attainment of that object municipality, and it cannot be denied to the literacy test for the reduction

of world affairs is confided. Every domestic and international circumstances such products of exscrutiny from those who are unwillwe have already forged and are now tempering the weapon of victory, we since dead. must give thought to the morrow in earthwide peace.

Von Hertling and Von Kuehlmann When Count von HERTLING spoke

in the Reichstag on July 11, Herr von PAYER, the Vice-Chancellor, announced that a portion of the address would be confidential, and the members were pledged to maintain silence on those passages which the Imperial Chancellor designated as not intended for publication. In the earliest reports of Von HerrLing's utter-All reports from the battle front in ances no mention was made of Bel-France are to the effect that the re- gium; but in an addendum published newed German drive was halted by here on Sunday he was quoted as the Allied troops, that the German saying that Belgium was only a pawn, armies failed in their objectives, and to be used in peace negotiations, and that their divisions were thrown back that Germany had no intention of re-

This virtuous disclaimer, having ment credit for magnanimity. That In producing this effect the Ameri- purpose having been accomplished. can troops, to whom General Foch another section of the Chancellor's has assigned important sectors in the address, also referring to Helgium, first line, made a splendid contribu- was allowed to become public. With tion. In their first experience of the the passage originally released, this concentrated force of a grand attempt may be taken as conveying the comto advance they revealed the courage plete thought which the Chancellor and tenacity which are their indi- conferred on the Reichstag. It reads

> "It was never our intention to keep Belgium except as a pledge by which to secure Germany against future perils. and until the danger is removed we cannot surrender our pledge.

"In peace we must be guaranteed against Belgium being used for ground on which to deploy military forces, but commissioned officers and officers in also from the economic standpoint we also from the economic standpoint we bench has just upheld the judgment larger unit. With the aid of the Fed must have guaranties against being of the lower court. The majority and provisions, the State of Massachu included.

"It must be made to the interest of Belgium to secure close economic relations with Germany. Should Germany succeed in attaining such an intimate commercial connection, this would bring troops, among whom are many men about a political agreement with Germany in which we should secure the best guaranties against future perils from England and France by way of Belgium."

This programme contemplates much aration for war enjoyed by the older more than the temporary holding of a favor of another. regulars and marines, all have had the Belgium as a pawn. It looks toward and guard units have received large commercial supremacy in that counnumbers of selected men into their try that could not be set up or mainranks, it being the policy of the War tained without a large degree of po-Department to unify the army, and litical power, possibly-even probnot to perpetuate the distinctions that ably-supported by military garrisons. might arise from the various methods. It makes the original version of Vox HERTLING'S speech as ridiculous as it plaint alleged that the plaintiff "was Under the conditions imposed on was misleading, and all conclusions a descendant of the Jewish or He- who squeezes the juice out of his the men drawn recently from civilian based on the original account of the brew race" and that refreshment was apples and allows the cider to become

occasion. This is the sentence: faith in the American men who are care not to prophesy-that the nations time they entered all the guests and American institutions that has happily upholding American ideals in the stuwhich are at present locked in buttle waiters in defendant's restaurant were this end would it not be in order for pendous struggle in Europe. Their will exchange peace views, one of the colored. As plaintiff and Williams deeds have made good our highest preliminary conditions must be a cer- seated themselves the head waiter said classics to set about undoing the have hopes. They have written their tain degree of confidence in each other's to them: 'Gentlemen, I am sorry I that "Kultur" has worked in the field

Count von Herrling, engineering great "peace offensive," gives no sign party.' Williams testified: "They said: Viscount Grey on the League of of sharing Dr. von KUHLMANN's opinion. Can that be the reason why Von

Blamarck, N. D.

nated in the war that devastates the Hun! What did he ever do for us?" person any of the accommodations, ad-We do not approve ordinarily of vantages or privileges thereof . sincerely desiring of honorable, en- objurgatory language; but there is on account of race, creed or color. It something that appeals to us in the seems to me to be clear that plaintiff That ideal condition was rendered foregoing sentiment which was placed was, on the occasion in question, denied British doughnut is a stable chunk of impossible of attainment by the am- upon the railroad station in the capi- the privileges of defendant's restaurant sweetened dough cooked quick in boilbitions and acts of one nation, which tal of North Dakota on Sunday night because he was white. The defendant ing oil. It is succulent and satisfying. for generations has plotted to win a by some unknown local patriots, who virtually said to plaintiff: "If you were dominant place among the Powers at the same time completely obliter- colored and came here with Williams to the fore. that should make all other nations ated the station sign "Bismarck." In you would be served, but being white, subservient to her and dependent on other parts of the city on Monday we will not serve you. The law naturher tolerance for their existence. The placards were posted reading: ally does not undertake to define or even plan was based on the possession of "Change the name of the city to some- to indicate which if any race or color

cunning intrigue whose ramifications the war, the Russians deemed the crimination on that account." we are only now beginning to under- name St. Petersburg so Teutonic in stand; and as long as it was har- form that they substituted Petrograd Mr. Justice Bijun's point is well bored by its authors and tolerated by therefor; and certainly the name of other nations its menace hung like a Bismarck is infinitely more suggesthunder cloud over the pacific peoples live of the German doctrines which the civilized world abhors. It is true That it shall be forever impossible that the burly apostle of blood and for such a design to be seriously con- iron never advocated such methods as templated by responsible rulers in his successors have adopted; neverthe future is the object of the ones, theless, it is a signal honor to a man raies of Germany in the war to-day, to bestow his name upon an important

means by which the reign of law may | effect to honor the principles of Prusbe made permanent. The form that sian militarism. The matter of a shall be taken by the instruments town's name is for its people to dewhich must be forged to assure this cide, and if the people of Bismarck reign of law, this permanence of civi- want a change here is a fine opportulization unimperilled by the barbarous nity for the Postmaster-General to prostrivings of dynasties eager to sup- mote the cause of patriotism in North press liberty, constitutes a subject re- Dakota by changing the name of the quiring the deepest reflection on the post office at the State capital. He part of those to whom the direction might consult Longrellow's poem of "Hiawatha" for euphonious Indian names appropriate for the "Land of political relationship throughout the the Dacotahs." There is Keewaydin, of forever, if they so saw fit. For this earth has already been profoundly al- the northwest wind; Wabasso, the tered by the war. The struggle to rabbit, and Osseo, the son of the eve- hundreds of printed blanks (as we would victory of the cause of justice will ning star. The Government has lately still further modify our preconceived devoted much attention to the study notions of national duty. Under these of Indian names, in reference to the naming of our new American ships. perience and wisdom as Viscount In the case of the 9,500 ton steel Majesty's hospitality. Here is one of Gazy's essay command the closest steamer launched at Bath, Me., on them before the name of the devoted the Fourth of July, which was to ing to accept all his conclusions, as have been called the Sagadahoc, it well as from those who indorse his was decided at the last minute to attitude; and in this country, where christen her the Canibas, in memory of a famous Kennebec chief long

North Dakota already contains sev which we shall be the guardians of eral towns hearing the names of distinguished persons. Thus, there is a Napoleon and a Balfour-and the county in which Bismarck is situated is named Burleigh. Why would not Burleigh be a good substitute for Bismarck? The people of North Dakota would be perfectly safe in adopting for their capital the name of the great English statesman of the time of Queen ELIZABETH, who was Prime Minister for forty years.

We make this suggestion in all seriousness. It is going to be a source of constant irritation to the North Dakotans to have to continue to call their capital by an obnoxious German name. It would be the englest possible transition for them to substitute for it a name already borne by the county in which it is located. Then North Dakota would have a city and county of Burleigh just as this State has a city and county of New York.

A Legal Decision on Caste Customs in Harlem.

ISAAC GOLDGRADEN keeps in Harlem restaurant where colored persons are served with meals. ABTHUB know how to proceed to nullify. It Conn, who is described in a legal paper hereinafter referred to as "a Congress was considering the law, and Hebrew white person," went into again when it was submitted in Decem-GOLDGRAREN'S restaurant with a col- ber, and again when the New York ored man named Williams for the Legislature was considering it, it was purpose of getting a meal. The head printed in virtually all of the newswalter refused to serve Conn and papers Williams on the ground that it was get acquainted, and while it does no "against the rules of the house to always require a long residence to know serve a mixed party." Conx brought about some things in a State, what suit against Goldgranex in the Sec- observed has been confirmed by resiond District Municipal Court, where the complaint was dismissed after a localities, which he refers to in a gentrial before a jury. The plaintiff cral way, has always been recognized took the case to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and that which any bench has just upheld the judgment operates until it has the support of the opinion is written by Mr. Justice setts having ratified the amendment WHITAKER, who says that "there was Mr. Bean will recognize that the enno refusal to serve because of color forcement of the law in Maine wil

"The plaintiff was white and his com canion was colored. They were both re-Yused service, so it could not have been years, and lays that to prohibition. It on account of color. . . . The rule that 'mixed parties' should not be served applied to white as well as colored. There was no discrimination as to one color

or race":

"The record plainly indicates that both continued industrial, economic and parties would have been served at septhis and refused service at a separate tural bill becomes law, a grape grower table. How can it be said then that he in Yates county who squeezes the was refused service on account of his out of his grapes and leaves it un-

It appears that the original com- ment. the men drawn recently from civilian based on the original account of the brew race and that retreshment was to military life, rapid progress is speech were manifestly without merit refused him because of his race. This is the name of liberty, democratically as they were found without adequate latter allegation was abandoned at the trial and the case was decided on racy and personal rights!

The decision of the appellate court undergone in a few weeks in the KUHLMANN, and was largely influ- was not unanimous, for Mr. Justice

> "The uncontradicted evidence in this A Call for the Restoration of the case is to the effect that plaintiff, a white man, as the guest of one Willtams, a colored man, went to defend- true Americans will welcome and ap-"Once the moment arrives-when, I ant's restaurant to be served. At the plaud the wise course of deteutonizing cannot serve you. It is against the of humane scholarship? rules of the house to serve a mixed

. they cannot serve a colored and white person together.' Whereupon HERTLING remains in power, while plaintiff and Williams, after some discussion, left the premises.

"The Civil Rights law, as amended by American teachers, deceived by a Chapter 285 of the Laws of 1913, Sec- specious display of learning, broke with tion 40, provides that no owner of a restaurant 'shall directly or indirectly that was made in Germany by one Wil-"To hell with this block headed refuse, withhold from or deny to any helm Corssens.

may be regarded as superior. Its sole

taken and that Mr. Coun should not have been denied the accommodation. advantage or privilege of sitting at the same table with Mr. WILLIAMS.

The immigration into this country last January was 6,356, the lowest monthly total on record, but the im migration officials do not give credit tre-upposes the establishment of some that thus to honor BISMARCK is in in the number of new Americans.

THE BASTILE.

the King had handed one of these pade

pour vous dire que men intention est

qu'aussitôt qu'elle vous aura été remise vous ayez à mon Chateau de Bastile, pou

Sur ce-je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, moi Cousin, en Sa sainte garde! Lecis R.

This lettre de cachet entitled the ger

tleman so commended to God's holy

keeping, to not only lodging, but, as you

mention, to maintenance-as the menu

of our cabarets used to say in ante-

bellum time, "Vin compris!" A com moner like Dr. Manette would have had

none of the best. But there were three

scales of maintenance, and a Duc or s

Comte or a Marquie had a larger and

more generous billet than his next lower

The Man in the Iron Mask, being the

brother of a King (who

course had every table luxury that the

MAINE'S RUM DOOMED.

Perfectly Dry.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: In

THE SUN of July 12 Henry L. Bean.

Maine and its prohibition law, asks vot

to permit him to see a copy of the Fed-

eral Amendment, in order that he may

shows how closely in touch with the

movement he really is, because when

I have lived in Maine long enough to

The disregard of the dry law in some

mmediately be as successful as any

He refers to the population of Maine

increasing only 10 per cent. in fifty

is to laugh! Migration from the Stat

and the rigorous climate seem entirely

An Opponent of Prohibition Sees

Ghosts.

the prohibition amendment to the agricul-

to a \$1,000 fine, or one year's imprison-

An apple grower in Dutchess county

KULTUR IN THE CLASSICS.

Ancient Pronunciations.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: Al

The work may be a difficult one, for

half a century of infliction. But there

the poison has become deep seated after

is one element of evil that can an

ought to be eliminated at once. It is

scholarship in that evil hour when

the past and took up the barbarous so-

called Roman pronunciation of Latin

Doughnuts.

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: The

The Knickerbocker cruller is not to

be sneezed at when doughnuts are not

Not Sufficiently Marine

"But he isn't a devil dog," we objected

The Guns of the U. S. A.

Above the roar of the bursting shells,

Above the crash of the falling walls

Is heard the sound of the constant pour

Creation wakes and the tyrant quakes

And knows that his reign is o'er, or it is the voice of Liberty

From pole to pole in the frum fire roll Of the guns of the U. S. A.

MINNA IRVING.

That speaks to the world to-day

Pluto was boasting of Cerberus.

The hiss of the flying lead.

Where the reeking earth is

When a missile tears its way

To Australia's distant shore.

NEW YORK, July 16.

Thor. July 16.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-

NEW YORK, July 16.

NEW YORK, July 16.

dents of the State.

other law.

APPLETON MORGAN.

King himself enjoyed.

WESTFIELD, N. J., July 16.

That Is, If a Neighbor State Bed

have been quietly substituted in his

ECRIT & VERSAILLES, le 10 Mars, 1711.

y rester jusqu'a nouvelle ordre de

for his own convenience:

A MIRAGE OF NIAGARA. Royal Chateau Where Absolutism The Falls Made Visible 170 Miles From the Site of Their Grandeur.

Interned Those It Feared. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-SIT: Who TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: With three other persons, who will bear wit-In your editorial article to-day, "The ness to the truth of my statement, Bastile," you call it an express was privileged to enjoy, without the prethe divine right of kings. That is preliminary of a journey there, a perfec view of one of nature's wonders, Niag It was in rank a royal chateau, the this place, some 170 miles distant from any of his favorites could bury therein Niagara.

Just before sunset on Saturday eve ning, while admiring a section of rainbow, my sight was arrested by a reflection upon the sky of as perfect a representation of Niagara Falls as I say, pads of them!) which were royal invitations to enjoy the hospitalities of the Bastile-quite like an invitation to photography. a week end in the country, save that Both the American and the Canano limit of time was mentioned to hi

dian Falls were unmistakably distinct; clumps of trees above the falls and a guest is filled in by the gentleman whom were clearly in evidence; the turbulent mist rising and falling like an ocean Mon Cousin: Etant peu satisfait de votre conduite, je vous faire cette lettre billow and other details were so truthfully portrayed as to leave no doubt in the minds of those who saw it that they were witnessing that phenomenon known as a mirage

The perspective was about the same ss that obtained from the foot of the incline plane, where so many visitors to it. Thereupon a storm beats against against Prussian domination. Niagara stand to be photographed with the falls for a background. As the sun sank toward the horizon the picture gradually faded from view,

lasted, however, fully five minutes after it first attracted my notice. MILLARD F. ROBERTS. DURWAMVILLE, July 15.

leaving but a bank of misty clouds. It

Durhamville, where Mr. Roberts saw this mirage, is situated in Oneida county, to the east of Oneida Lake.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN. The Times Demand Intensive Instruction for Workers.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: Nev York city is to be congratulated on the recent decision of the War Departthe Manhattan Trade School for Girls for use as a hospital. An equal, if not greater opportunity for patriotic ser-vice is thereby given to the city in the speedy carrying out of the original purpose of the building

One of the greatest needs of the nation to-day is trained women in industry, as reports of the Federal Employment Bureaus convincingly and alarmingly show. Moreover, this need the experience of England will continuously increase as a larger army of women workers is called to meet the denands of our war industries.

Educators, industrial employers and all patriotic citisens therefore should and Estimate to do all within their power to equip as rapidly and adequately as possible this beautiful new build-These bodies should be encouraged to extend and to aid in every practical way the work of New York's

only trade school for girls, a school whose record in giving to industrially inefficient girls opportunity for preliminary training and trade experience has been for many years a credit to this city and has won for it a country-wide reputation. Both the faculty and graduates are eager to take up the new challenge which the national situation JANE F. CULBERT. Secretary, Public Education Association

NEW YORK, July 16. "HAVE ANOTHER?"

tion's Time and Money. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-SIT suggest that a law against treating

Outlaw the Treat and Save the Na

and entertaining in clubs and public places would be an excellent one.

has been in force for a considerable time and works admirably and has reduced a great deal of needless expenditure and waste of time in drinking and loafing about bars. It is rigidly enforced, as I can affirm from many nonths of experience.

The same rule put in force here would conserve liquor, and above all decrease the consumption of it, and minimize the still more important element of time. and if extended to food would be of vast importance, as where a person entertains another at luncheon or dinner President Wilson's Advantage. invariably a great many things are ordered that are not needed or desired. many of them leaving the table barely touched, and thereby causing endless extravagance and waste.

This law extended to not only places of public entertainment but also to clubs and generally would be a distinct benefit to the community and the coun-H. G. A.

NEW YORK, July 16.

CICERO ON LOUIS. Is the Prodigy Not a Product of Tal-

ent and Education?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir! As response to the letter of the "Suprema Spirit of the Spheres," whose literary frothings appeared in THE SUN of July 8. I should like to quote a certain passage from Cleero's "Archias."

Mr. Elishemius is evidently a firm be-Hever in the old adage. "Poets are born not made," which can be easily applied to ball players, bartenders or fighters. I hope that the following translation will prove to Mr. Elishemius that he is erroneous in his belief, and I think it will, for not even the impeccable Louis that the world has ever produced.

Cicero said: "I admit that there have been many men of excellent mind and ability, and that these men, because of their genius, have existed through themselves alone. I also grant that natural talent without education has counted more for praise and glory than edumaintain this: when some methodical instruction and training is added to excellent natural talent, then is the true ideal of perfection wont to exist."

HARTFORD, Conn., July 16.

WITHOUT BOMBS, TOO.

The hum of planes o'er the wide terrain Those Charged in Paris. TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: "On Who Knows" has expressed in print what many of us have been long think-

ing. One can live at this moment for less in both England and France than in this country, and I can cite on instance alone. I pay \$550 a year in France for an apartment that would cost me \$800 or \$1,000 here. Therefore New YORK, July 16.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS THAT WILL NOT BE BROKEN.

Viscount Grey's Calm Survey of the Proposal to Unite the Great States in a Combination for Pears and Justice-America's Important Part.

tepid idealism, admired by those who see that if possible they would be de- the military party and their policy than to diminished state control is made to embody them in material It is then discovered that what appeared as an ideal to be wholly desirable and amiable cannot be of practical ourselves to some limitations or discipline that may be inconvenient, and unless we are prepared to overcome some difficulties that were not at first have in fact a stern and disagreeable as well as an easy and amiable side to it; those who never thought it desirable-for there are intellects to which most ideals seem dangerous and temperaments to which they are offensive -and who had previously treated it only with contempt in the abstract, offer the flercest opposition to it as a practical proposal: many of its supporters are paralyzed by the difficult aspects of it, which they had not previously considered, and the project recedes again into the region of shadows r abstract resolutions.

Ideals May Change With War.

This, or something like this, has hitherto been the history of the ideal that has now become associated with the phrase "A League of Nations"; but it does not follow that the history of this or of other ideals will be the same after the war as before it. There is more at stake in this war than the existence of individual states or empires or the fate of a continent; the whole of modern civilization is at stake, and whether it will perish and be submerged, as has happened to previous civilizations of older types, or whether t will live and progress depends upo whether the nations engaged in this war and even those that are onlookers learn the lessons that the experience of the war may teach them. It must be with nations as with individuals. in the great trials of life they must become better or worse—they cannot stand still. They must learn and profit by experience and rise to greater eventually into the abyss. And this war is the greatest trial of which there is any record in history. If the war does not teach mankind new lessons that will so dominate the thought and feeling of those who survive it and those who succeed the survivors as to make new things possible, then the war will be the greatest catastrophe as well as the must grievous trial and suffering of which mankind

has any record. Therefore it does not follow that League of Nations to secure the peace the world will remain impo erto, and I propose in this paper to before and that are present sential if the League of Nations is to smaller states composing the league forced a ruthless and unlimited

1. The idea must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the executive heads of states. become an essential part of their practical policy, one of their chief reasons for being or continuing to be respon-They must not adopt it only to render lip service to other persons whom it is inconvenient or ungracious to dis please. They must lead and not follow; they must compel if necessary and not be compelled.

This condition was not present be

fore the war: to what extent is it pres-

ent now? It is not possible to ananswered certainly and affirmatively as regards President Wilson, the Executive head of the United States, and defend it, Great Britain and the other this alone is sufficient to give new life and purpose to the idea of a League of Nations. President Wilson and his country have had in this matter the great advantage of having been for more than two years and a half, before April, 1917, able to observe the war as neutrals, free from the intense anxiety and effort that absorb all the thought and energy of belligerents. They were able not only to observe. but to reflect and to draw conclusions. One of the conclusions has been that if the world of which they form an important part is to be saved from what they consider disaster, they must enthe war against Germany; an other has been that, if national liberty and peace are to be secure in future. there must be a league of nations to secure them. It must not be supposed from this that the Governments of the Allies are less ready to draw. or have not already drawn, the same can dispute the greatest man of letters conclusion from the experience of the war; but their countries have been at war all the time. They have been of national and human liberty as the United States, but fighting also for the immediate preservation of national existence in Europe, and all their thought and energy have been concentrated upon resistance to imminent peril. Nevertheless, in this country at any rate, the project of a league of nations has met with widespread and cordial acceptance. On the other never been before, "We will accept hand, the military party in Germany and undertake them"? are, and must remain, opposed to it: they resent any limitation upon the use of force by Germany as fatal to tion and obligation as regards disputes stand or will not accept this German interests, for they can con- between individuals: these are settled it not applicable to nationceive no development, and even no by law, and any individual who, insecurity, except one based solely upon stead of appealing to law, resorts to great crisis in which for and this exclusive conception is essen- siders his rights, finds himself at once excrable? All must learn tial to the maintenance of the power opposed and restrained by the force of of this war. The United S of the military party in Germany. As the state—that is, in democratic coun- the Allies cannot save the world long, therefore, as this rule in Ger- tries, by the combined force of the militarism unless tiermany loss many continues Germany will oppose other individuals. And we not only a league of nations. Nothing will accept this arrangement but uphold it they will not save the world, or change this except a conviction in the as essential to prevent oppression of themselves, by complete vision German people that the use of force one by another, to secure each person Germany until they too have

see that if possible they would be de-sirable. From time to time an attempt and ideals from power in Germany. But in less civilized parts of the The situation, therefore, of this first world individuals have not reached to condition essential to make the League point of view from which this order form and make them of practical use of Nations practical may be summed in national or international politics, up as follows: It is present certainly as regards the Executive head of the protested to a British official against United States, which is potentially the having to pay any taxes. The limited strongest and actually the least exhausted of all the belligerent States: modern manner, that these taxes were use unless we are ready to subject it either is or will at the end of the war be found to be present as regards with the result that men and women the Governments of other countries and the flocks and herds and posses. fighting on the same side as the United sions of every tribe were safe, and Austria has publicly shown a disposight apparent. The ideal is found to sition to accept the proposal, and probably welcomes it genuinely though secretly as a safeguard for her future, not only against old enemies, but

All small states, belligerent or tral, must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard small states as well as great from aggression and war. There remains the opposition of Ger-

many, where recent military success and the ascendency of Prussian militarism have reduced the advocates of anything but force to silence. Germany has to be convinced that force does not pay, that the aims and policy of military rulers inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon from the menace of these military many will find peaceful development relations desirable between themselves assured and preferable to expansion by war, and will realize that the condition nations. Till Germany feels this to Nations in the sense intended by President Wilson. A league such as and necessity of such a league, and is therefore not prepared to make the efforts, and, if need be, the sacrifices necessary to maintain it.

May Involve Inconvenience. 2. The second condition essential to the foundation and maintenance of war has caused and is still causing a League of Nations is that the Governments and peoples of the states if it were not that our feelings are in willing to found it understand clearly a way stunned by the very violence that it will impose some limitation of the catastrophe, as physical nerves upon the national action of each, and are to some extent numbed by great may entail some inconvenient obliga- blows, the human heart could not tion. The smaller and weaker nations bear up and live under the trial of will have rights that must be respected this war. Great must be the effect of and upheld by the league. stronger nations must forego the right during the war on the working of to make their interests prevail against men's minds, and on human nature the weaker by force: and all the itself; but this is not what I intend states must forego the right in any to urge here. I will urge only on dispute to resort to force before other point and one methods of settlement by conference, rather than the heart. conciliation, or, if need be, arbitration, have been tried. This is the

The obligation is that if any nation will not observe this limitation upon its national action; if it breaks the because it has not been possible hith- agreement which is the basis of the league, rejects all peaceful methods consider shortly, to state rather than of settlement and resorts to force, the to examine (for it would take a long other nations must one and all use time to examine thoroughly) the con- their combined force against it. The ditions that have not been present economic pressure that such a league could use would in itself be very powmay soon be present and that are es- erful, and the action of some of the become effective. These conditions could perhaps not go beyond economic cation of power must be ready to use all the and non-combatant. They have sh force, economic, military or naval, the world that now and beneated that they possess. It must be clearly war means this and nothing less : understood and accepted that defection this. If there is to be another was from or violation of the agreement twenty or thirty years' time what by one or more states does not ab- it be like? If there is to be concentrate solve all or any of the others from the preparation for more war, the

obligation to enforce the agreement. Anything less than this is of no henceforth to discovering methods value. How worthless it may be can which the human race can be be seen by reading the debate in the stroyed. These discoveries can House of Lords in 1867 upon the confined to one the ion and there treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of ject of wholesale destruction w Luxemburg. It was there explained much more completely achieved that we entered only into a collective after even than in this war. guarantee; by this it was apparently mans are not blind to this, but a meant that if any one of the guaranswer this question fully, but it can be teeing Powers violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, or even if any one of them declined to take active steps to Peace can never be secured guarantors were thereby absolved power and prosperity by from taking any action whatever, slon and disadvantage of atterned the German idea of a world pea This was contrasted at the time with the Belgian treaty, which entailed a separate guarantee.

Reserves in Former Pacts.

Hitherto the nations of the world have made reserves in arbitration or to this idea of Germany conciliation agreements, showing that should set forth, as President V they were not prepared to accept the has already set forth, the idelimitations upon national action that peace secured by mutual regaare essential to secure an effective tween states for the rights League of Nations. An exception is and a determination to starn; the conciliation treaty between Great attempt at war as they Britain and the United States ne. plague that threatened the deligotiated before the war, but the statement made above is generally true.

The nations have also carefully ab- Must Learn or Suffer. stained from undertaking any obligation to use force to uphold the benevoent rules and agreements of general deed speak for Germany we she application that have been recorded at Hague conferences; such obligation has been confined to local objects like the neutrality of Belgium or to alliances between particular Powers made to protect or serve their special interests.

Are the nations of the world prepared now, or will they be ready after this war, to look steadily and clearly at this aspect of the League of Nations, at the 1 mitations and obligations that it will impose and to say wholehearted and convinced as they have

Individuals in civilized states have long ago accepted an analogous limita-Any other conception is fatal, force to give effect to what he con- fulle "Learn or perish" will causes at least as much suffering to in a quiet life, and to guarantee to and can apply the lesson that m themselves as to others, and that se-curity based upon law and treaty and sistent with the equal liberty of neigh-mankind. a sense of mutual advantage is better bors. That at any rate is part of the May 11, 1918.

There are projects that exist in a than the risks dangers and sufferings theory and object of democratic governments. There are projects that exist in a chart the risks, that the risks, that the risks, that the risks, that exist in a chart the risks that exist in a chart the risks, that exist in a chart the risks that exist in a chart the r must so work upon them as to displace proving it look rather to increase

of things seems desirable. There is story of a native chief in Africa who official explained, no doubt in the bear used to keep order in the country Even among their enemies each could live in its own territors without fear or disturbance, and that the payment of taxes was for the good of all. The effect of this explanation was to make the chief very angry Before the British came, he said he could raid a neighbor, return with captives and captures of all sorts and be the rest of his tribe when he returned The need for protecting his own tribe from similar raids he was willing to undertake himself. "Now," he said you come here and tell me that ought to like to pay taxes to be prevented from doing this, and that makes me mad"

Law Sanctioned by Majority. The analogy between states and in-

dividuals or groups of individuals is her; and that when the world is free not perfect, but there is sufficien analogy to make it not quite irrele rulers, with their sharp swords, vant to ask whether after this war shining armor and enailed fists, Ger- the view held by great states of the will be that of the African chief e that of individuals in what we call of true security for one nation is a civilized nations. Nothing but erpesense of security on the part of all rience convinced individuals that is was better than anarchy to settle the be true there can be no League of relations between themselves. And the sanction that maintains law is the application of force with the support he desires must include Germany, and of the great majority of individuals should include no nation that is not behind it. Is it possible that the exthoroughly convinced of the advantage perience of this war will produce a settled opinion of the same sort regulate the relations of states with each other and safeguard the world from war, which is in fact anarchy?

What does the experience of this war amount to? Our minds cannot grasp it all. Thought is crushed b the accumulated suffering that is We cannot utter all that we feel an The all this: greater after even than

We are now in the fourth year of

the war; the application of scientifi knowledge and the inventions of set ence during the war have made more and more terrible and destrict abrogated all previously accepted rules the firing from the sea upon open up bombing of big cities from the air wer all introduced into the war by Germany. It was long before the Allie adopted any of these practices even a reprisals; but the avoid future wars by established domination of Germany for domination of one country secur sion and disadvantage of othercured by the power of German tarism is impracticable as well

fair and abhorrent to other It is as intolerable and imposthe world as despotism would or in the United States. In op-

When those who accept this idea and this sort of peace can in word and within sight of a good peace

The establishment and mainterance of a League of Nations such as items ident Wilson has advocated is important and essential to peace than any of the actual terr peace that may conclude the war will transcend them all. The lethem will be worth little unl future relations of states are on a basis that will prevent a rence of militarism in any sili

"Learn by experience or the rule of life. We have all seen individuals becoming to more a misery to themse others because they canno And if so, have not nations